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The political relations of Canada  
to Great Britain and the U.S.



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# RELATIONS OF CANADA

TO

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

AN ADDRESS,

*Delivered to the Nineteenth Century Club, New York, on the 31st  
January, 1890.*

BY

GOLDWIN SMITH.



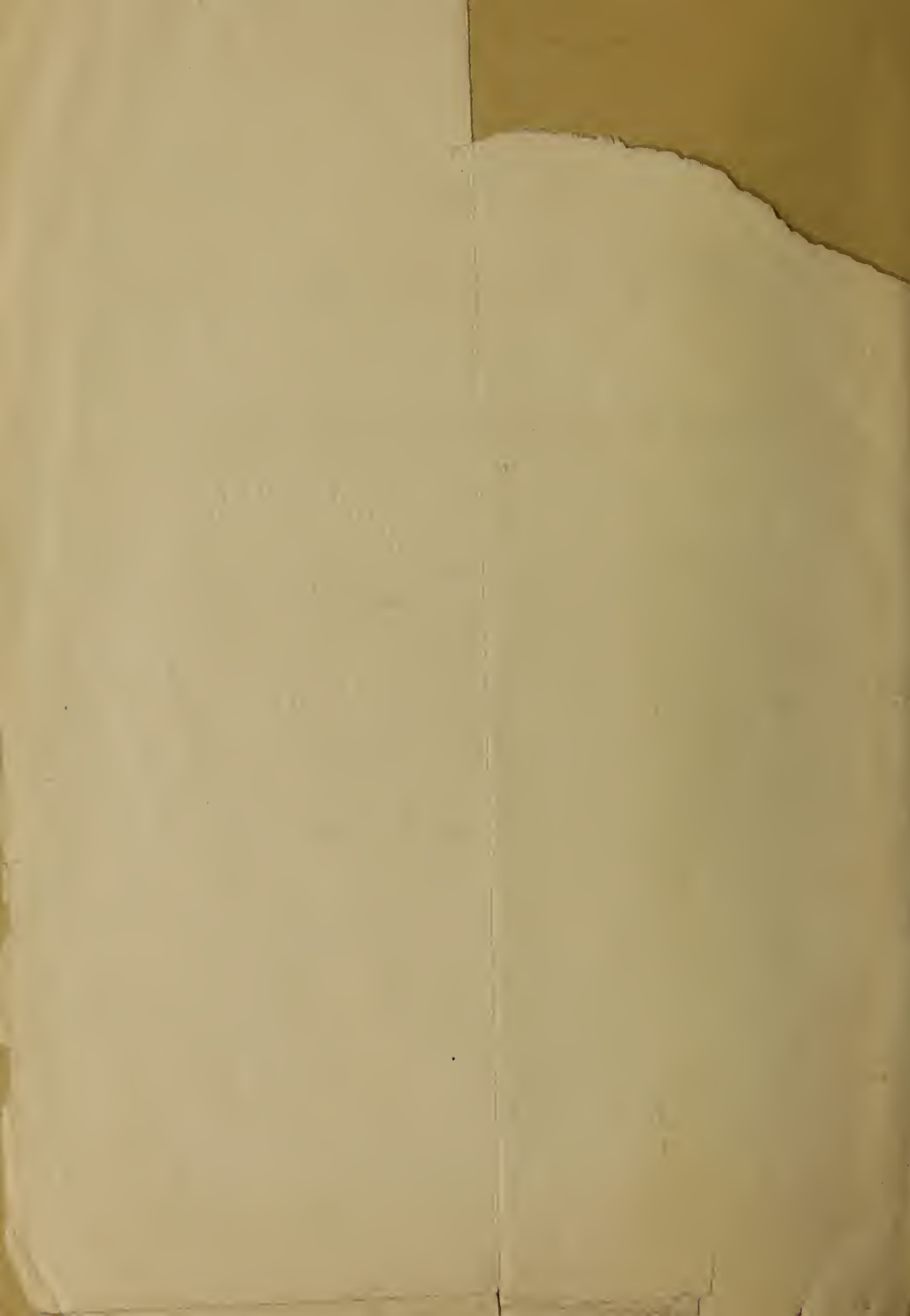
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THE  
POLITICAL RELATIONS OF CANADA

TO  
GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

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Americans have at last begun to feel an interest in Canada. Hitherto I have always told my Canadian friends that what they had to fear was not aggression, but indifference. To know whether an antagonistic empire is being formed to the north of you and whether a French nation is being formed on the Lower St. Lawrence is surely important to your statesmen and your people. The question of Annexation, as it is improperly called, or as it ought to be called of political union, is one which I shall not attempt this evening to decide, though a little light may be thrown upon it. But whatever I might have to say about it I should feel safe before this audience. I am sure there is no one here who if he wishes for a union of Canada with the United States wishes for any but a free, equal and honourable union, such as might be discussed by loyal and patriotic citizens on both sides, without prejudice to their loyalty or their patriotism. After twenty years of intercourse with Americans, I have felt warranted in assuring Canadians that there exists here no desire of bringing Canada into the Union otherwise than by the free consent of her people. Apart from morality, your people would be too wise to incorporate disaffection. But discussion is not aggression, nor likely to lead to it; and to prohibit the two sections of the English-speaking

people of this continent, situated as they are, from thinking of their future relations to each other would be futile. As well might you forbid their looking at each other across the St. Lawrence.

The political relation of Canada to Great Britain is, as you know, that of a self-governed colony to the Imperial country. This is now the relation borne by the colonies generally, as distinguished from the dependencies. The only part of the Empire to which that name properly applies is India. It is sometimes said that England was frightened into giving the colonies self-government by the American Revolution. This is not so. Canada was ruled by Royal Governors, though with elective Assemblies, until 1837: she was ruled honourably and on the whole well. The tide of Liberalism which set in after the great French war, and which brought Parliamentary Reform in England, brought also self-government to the colonies. What is called the Canadian Rebellion was really not so much a rebellion against the Imperial Government as a petty civil war. In British Canada it was a petty civil war between the Tories and the Reformers; in French Canada it was a civil war between the French majority and the British minority who as conquerors had engrossed power. The Tories in Upper Canada put down the rising without the aid of a single British bayonet. But Liberalism then reigned in England. Responsible Government, as it was called, was introduced into the colony. The Royal Governor ceased to rule, and power was transferred to a Cabinet nominally appointed by him but really representing the party which had the majority in Parliament. Nothing was outwardly changed, but different instructions were issued to the Governor. Lord Metcalfe, who had been trained in India and was sent to Canada by a Tory government, tried to resume personal power, but he was defeated. Constitutional Government after the British model was finally established, and the connection between the Imperial country and the colony was reduced to what is called "the silken thread." Just so has England herself passed,



without change of the forms, and indeed without being conscious of the transition, from a Monarchy into a Republic. This policy of conservatism in form and revolution in substance is deemed the height of wisdom, but perhaps there may be two sides to that question.

The Imperial country still sends out a governor, but he has no longer any political power. The last prerogative retained was that of dissolving or refusing to dissolve Parliament, and this was given up to the Prime Minister by the late Governor-General. The prerogative of mercy was personally exercised by Lord Dufferin in a special case, to relieve his ministers of a difficulty, but it was understood that this was to be the last time. The late Governor-General marked his irresponsibility by reading, at the dictation of his Prime Minister, a speech from the Throne in which he commended a fiscal policy laying protective duties on English goods. By holding his little court at Ottawa, by recommending to baronetcies and knighthoods, by getting Canadian ladies presented at the British Court, by going round and speaking, dining, or laying first stones, the Governor-General fosters the monarchical and aristocratic sentiment. With Lord Dufferin this social propagandism began to be active. Aristocracy clings to the hope that it may yet rescue from democracy a part of the New World. No one who has at all imbibed the spirit of history can have narrow feelings against historical institutions. Aristocracy had its day, when it did the service of an iron time. But its day, even for the Old World, is past. In the New World its intrusion surely can do nothing but mischief. Democracy has its evils and perils, as all men of sense know, and as all noble spirits struggling for improvement know too well. But titles of honour, so-called, do not make the bearers honourable. The spirit of the lacquey does not cast out the spirit of the demagogue, and nothing but the spirit of the lacquey can well be bred by these petty courts without ancestral grandeur or traditional refinement. Some of the best men in Canada

have refused titles, while by some who are not among the best they are, as might be expected, eagerly sought.

England also sends out a general to command the militia, but the control of the military administration is entirely in Canadian hands. Even the presence of an English general is viewed askance, and that by some who deem themselves supremely loyal.

Canada makes her own laws, though legally the Imperial Legislature is supreme. The Home Government has a veto, but this would never be exercised except in case of conflict with Imperial statutes, treaties or fundamental rules of Imperial policy. In one respect the supremacy of the Imperial Legislature is still felt, and felt to our disadvantage. Our Constitution is embodied in an Act of the Imperial Parliament and can be amended only by the same authority. Thus we are without the power of constitutional amendment. Our Constitution is, as it were, in mortmain, and the stream of political life is frozen at its source; for the Imperial Parliament has far too much on its hands to bestow a thought on our concerns. The Constitution was never submitted to the Canadian people. It was framed by the Canadian politicians in concert with the Colonial Office and passed by the Colonial Secretary through the British Parliament.

Canada makes her own tariff. She lays protective duties on British goods. This liberty was demanded and obtained by the Colony of Victoria about twenty-five years ago. It is said that the colonies are still restrained from discriminating in their tariffs against their Mother Country. Otherwise, the fiscal unity of the empire is dissolved, and every member is left to do what it thinks best for itself in the circumstances in which it is placed.

The supreme judicial authority is still in the British Privy Council, that tribunal unique in history which metes out justice to the people of so many lands, tongues and religions, now deciding a boundary question between Ontario and



Manitoba, now a question about the effect of a Roman Catholic excommunication in Quebec, now which of two Hindoo families shall take a Hindoo heritage and perform the family sacrifice to a Hindoo deity. It is an upright as well as an august tribunal; but it is distant and expensive. Canada has set up a Supreme Court of her own to reduce as far as possible the number of appeals.

The Treaty-making power is of course still in the Imperial country. But the colony is allowed under the wing of the colonial office practically to make her own commercial treaties. It has been moved in the Canadian Parliament to send a Commissioner, who would virtually be a Commercial Ambassador, to Washington, and though the motion was lost it received a large vote. The colony is involved in all the quarrels and wars of the Mother Country, while the Mother Country reciprocally is involved in all the quarrels of the colonies. Canadian commerce may any day be cut up in a war about Egypt, about a boundary in Africa, or about the frontier of Afghanistan. Great Britain, on her part, has to interfere in these Fisheries and Seal questions in which she has no interest, though honour binds her to do her best for her colony. Not one man in a thousand probably in Great Britain has the least idea what the Fisheries question or the Behrings Sea imbroglio means. I have seen a proclamation of the Privy Council in which the Province of Ontario was designated as 'that Town.' It was drawn up of course by the clerk, not by the Council: but the clerk would be a highly educated man.

Of the Imperial army nothing is left in Canada but the reduced garrison of Halifax. It is so in all the British colonies. Soon the beat of that drum will go round the world with the rising sun no more. But as the last throb of England's war-drum dies away will be heard the voice of law, literature and civilization speaking in the English tongue. I read in one of your leading journals the other day that the American people, by which I hope the Editor meant his own subscribers, would

rejoice over any misfortune which might befall England. Let them rejoice. They will not efface the record of English greatness. Nor will they ever see the fall of that grander and better Empire to which all whose language is English must for ever belong.

Canada contributes nothing to Imperial armaments. Her force is a militia half of which is trained for a fortnight each year. Evidently such a force could not be brought into line within the time allowed by the swift march of modern war. Excellent soldiers might, no doubt, be recruited in Canada, though they might be somewhat too democratic for the strict discipline of the British army. In war the colony must look to England for protection. Tribute no colony or even dependency of Great Britain has ever paid otherwise than in the indirect form of commercial preference.

What then is the use to England of a supremacy without power, without commercial preference, and with dangerous liabilities? None. What is the use to the colony of a dependence also attended with dangerous liabilities which are poorly compensated by a very precarious protection? None. Is it in any way desirable that a free community on this side the Atlantic should be governed or have its Constitution fixed by a community not a whit superior to it in intelligence and ignorant of all its concerns on the other side? Apparently it is not. There is no tie left but sentiment. Of sentiment we will not speak lightly so close to Wall Street. But sentiment to be genuine and lasting must be the glow, as it were, on sense, and without sense cannot long endure. The cable is worn to its last strand. A maritime war between England and other powers cutting up Canadian commerce would probably be the end. In their hearts British statesmen, some of them at least, know the truth whatever conventional sentiment, and as they think honour, may force them to say with their lips. Even Lord Beaconsfield, as we now know, in his confidential correspondence with Lord Malmesbury, called the colonies in general and Canada in particular mill-

stones round the neck of England and said that they would soon be independent. The strength of England is in herself. Against Philip II., against Louis XIV., against Napoleon, she fought and won without aid from any dependency whatever.

The end of connection is apparently near, and the feeling that it is near produces a spasm of recoil under the name of Imperial Federation. I would speak with respect of the Imperial Federationists. They want the Greater Britain and I want the Greatest. But Imperial Federation takes no tangible form: its devotees call upon our bosoms to swell with enthusiasm for a scheme hereafter to be disclosed. What precedent does history afford for such a federation of communities of all sorts and sizes scattered over the globe, and differing as widely as possible from each other in their local circumstances and requirements? The Roman Empire was vast, but it was within a ring fence and it was alone in its world, not scattered and with other powers intervening between its members. Who are to be included in Imperial Federation? Is the negro of the West Indies to vote on Imperial policy? What is to be done with India? Its people are five-sixths of the population of the Empire. If they are taken in, they will swamp the Federation; if they are left out who is to govern them? Are we to have one State of the Federation holding an Empire of its own five times as populous as all the rest of the Federation, with a policy, a budget, and armaments apart? What is the British Crown to do with two sets of advisers, one Federal the other British, perhaps advising different ways? How is representation to be apportioned? If according to population, and Great Britain is to have members in proportion to St. Helena, what hall will hold the Federal Parliament? How is the fiscal policy of the Empire to be harmonized with the different fiscal policies which the several colonies have adopted and are determined to keep? There are to be sub-Federations of the North American Colonies, the Australian Colonies, the South African Colonies. Of which body will each man feel himself a citizen, and how can any statesmanship manage

such a complication of relations and allegiances? Those who undertake to carry out such a scheme have not only to put back the shadow on the dial of colonial history, which has so long been moving towards complete emancipation, but to combat the inherent tendency of the race, which is not towards centralization but towards self-government.

Instead of a grander unity and sublimer sentiment there would probably come a rupture. The Mother Country would forfeit the affection of another set of colonies. Another set of colonies would break with its past, renounce the heritage of memories which sobers while it exalts the spirit of a nation, and perhaps make a miserable religion of enmity to the central hearth of its race and the source of its civilization.

Colonial dependency was a mistake from the beginning. The relation was always fraught with the danger of angry rupture. The founders of the Greek Colonies showed us the right way when they took the sacred fire from the temple hearth of the Mother Country and set forth to establish a new Commonwealth bound to its mother only by the filial tie. We have, however, to bear in mind that while the French Monarchy was powerful and aggressive we needed here the protection of British arms. France saved you in a war against England: therefore you hate England and love France: but remember that had it not been for the protecting arm of England France might have reigned here.

What is the relation of Canada to the United States? I speak of British Canada: a word about French Canada hereafter. Formally the two communities are foreign nations to each other, and everything said about the possibility of any other relation must be said without prejudice to allegiance. But Mr. Chamberlain speaking as the representative of the Queen and speaking in Canada said that he could not regard the Americans as a foreign nation.



The separation was an historical accident, the result of a civil war and would never have taken place at all had your ancestors shown after your first civil war anything like the wisdom and magnanimity which you showed after your second. Not only is there no natural boundary between the people of the United States and those of the Dominion, but the territories are so interlocked, the four separate masses composing the Dominion being unconnected with each other, while each of them is closely connected with the States to the South of it, that unless Nature can be beaten as she has never been beaten before, a glance at the map is almost enough to settle these questions. The populations are identical in every respect, in race, language, religion, character and organic institutions. They are rapidly fusing, for there is a large and constant exodus not only of the French but of the farmers of British Canada; half of those who remain have relatives south of the Line; and if a Canadian Loyalist levels a blow at the detested Yankees, the odds are that his fist lights on the face of his own brother or cousin. Americans settle as freely though not in so large numbers in Canada, and if they go into politics are apt to turn high Tories. Dakota and others of your new Western States are full of Canadians: so are New York and Chicago. Canadian youths go to the American centres to push their fortunes as readily as Scotch youths go to London or Liverpool. Those American fishermen for whom you are fighting so hard in the Fisheries question are three-fourths of them Canadians. New York is becoming more and more the commercial centre of Canada. American bank bills go through the Dominion at par, while those of our own remoter Provinces do not, or do so only by virtue of a special arrangement. The connection of the railway systems is complete, and with their extension the interflow of population and the general intercourse increase. The Churches on the two sides of the Line are the same and are in perfect communion, clergymen accepting calls freely from one country to the other. The American Science Association meets at Toronto. The periodical litera-

ture of Canada is mainly American. There is a free circulation of Professors and students between Canadian and American Universities. The benevolent societies, such as those of the Freemasons, Odd Fellows, and Knights Templars, extend across the Line; so do even national societies, such as the St. George's Society, and political societies such as that of the Orangemen. Philanthropic and social movements, such as Prohibitionism and Woman's Rights are common to the two countries. Labour organizations, such as the Knights of Labour, are common also. The same problems are before both sections, the same conflicts are going on in both. The mind of our people as well as the mind of your people is exercised by the problem of marriage and divorce. Our people like your people feel themselves on the eve of a struggle between modern civilization and the Church of the Past. There is a Lodge of your Grand Army at Ottawa, and there were thousands of Canadian enlistments in your army during the war; a pretty good set-off by the way against the one seaman of the British Naval Reserve who sailed in the *Alabama*. Your social and pleasure capitals are largely ours; the Canadian who thunders eternal separation in the Canadian Parliament brings out his daughters at Washington. Canadians resort to American watering-places and there is a continual interchange of bridal parties. Last but not least, there is a connection between the base-ball organizations, and the Toronto "nine" is recruited in the United States.

The history of the Canadian Pacific Railway is instructive. To make up for the lack of geographical or commercial unity between the Provinces of the Dominion they were to be bound together by political railways. The first of these political railways was the Intercolonial, which was to bind the Maritime Provinces to Ontario and Quebec, while it afforded a military highway for Imperial troops. The second was the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to link the newly-opened North-West and British Columbia to the Eastern Provinces, and at the same time to separate them from the United States. The undertaking was to be strictly national and Imperial-



ist. Its chief constructors have been made baronets or knights on that account. In this character it received from the Dominion subsidies exceeding a hundred millions. No American was to have anything to do with it. What was the result? An American firm was in the Syndicate, an American, now Vice-President of the United States, was Vice-President, an American was Manager and is now President. The road has become almost as much an American as a Canadian road; its trunk line runs through the State of Maine; it has its American connections not only in the East, but at the Sault and at Vancouver. To gain American trade, it actually discriminates against Canada in its freights. By taking the short cut through Maine it kills the other national and Imperial railway, the Intercolonial, which cost Canada forty-five millions. Never was a more strenuous effort made to beat nature and never was her victory more complete.

The structure of society, the character of the people and their social sentiments are the same in British Canada that they are in the Northern and Western States. There is an official and quasi-aristocratic tinge on society at Ottawa. There is an English tinge on society at Toronto. But the English tinge is dying away now that the British regiments are gone, and the leadership of the professions, of commerce, and of society, which used to be in the hands of immigrants from England, has passed into the hands of native Canadians. British Canadian society is distinctly that of the New, not that of the Old World. It is democratic though the democratic character is tempered by distinctions of wealth, of education, of position in the hierarchies of industry and commerce. Like American society, Canadian society is industrial and un-military, while in both there is the same love of military show and the same worship of military fame. The same peculiar phrases strike the ear, the same little traits of character meet the eye, on both sides of the line. Canada has the same trouble that you have with democracy in the kitchen. Our matrimonial relations are in a less disturbed condition; but that problem, as I have said, is before us, and after all the law

of Illinois or Indiana is not the law of the United States. In the richer country the standard of living will naturally be higher: so will be the standard of literary culture. But I believe Canadians bear a high character for industry and trustworthiness among commercial employers in the United States. Depend upon it, if the people of British Canada should ever determine to cast in their lot with yours, you will find them no unworthy partners in the work of building up a larger and happier humanity, of which this continent seems destined to be the scene.

In brief, British Canada and the United States are now one people under two governments and with a Customs line drawn across it. That I believe is the true statement of the case. The nearest historical parallel, I do not say a perfect parallel, but the nearest, is the relation borne by the different States of Germany to each other after the abolition of the Empire and before the Zollverein. Bear in mind always that the division of the British Canadian from the other British American colonists had its origin in a civil war.

The political institutions and the political character formed by them are essentially the same on both sides. Canada, like the United States, is an absolute democracy. The monarchical parts of the Canadian Constitution are merely a false front, not a part of the polity. What was intended to be the aristocratic element, the Senate nominated by the Crown, is also almost a nullity or an addition to the patronage fund of party. Canada, like the United States, is a Confederation. In fact, the Constitution of the United States was the real model. A Canadian Province would play its part at once, as a State of the Union, without feeling the difference except that it would have more self-government. The same thing would be true reciprocally of an American State. So far as the political machinery was concerned you would only have to turn the two Federal Governments into one. There are differences of detail

between the two systems. The most important perhaps is that Canada, like England, has a Prime Minister and Cabinet with seats in Parliament, whereas you have a President and Cabinet without seats in Congress. The Federal Government and legislature have or were intended to have more power in Canada than they have in the United States. The framers of the Canadian Constitution supposed wrongly that secession was due to the weakness of the central power, whereas slavery was the sole cause. The Federal legislature makes the criminal law and the law of marriage. The Federal Government appoints all the judges and has the direct command of the militia. By the Constitution there is a Federal veto on Provincial legislation, but this has been practically renounced. Canada has a permanent civil service, but you are trying to get one. Canada has a judiciary, like that of England, appointed for life, and to her great benefit; but the Judges of your Supreme Court are appointed in the same manner. In the most important and the most sinister point of all, the two governments are identical; both are party governments. In Canada, as in the United States, the system of party is established, and brings with it the Machine, the Boss, the Convention, the Stump, the Party Press, and all its other inevitable concomitants, including unhappily political corruption. Let the forms of the two Constitutions differ in detail as they may, it is party in both cases that rules through those forms, and it rules for party ends. If we have not these Presidential elections, which seem as if in time they would tear the Commonwealth to pieces, we have general elections to settle who shall be Prime Minister, which are the same thing in a somewhat milder form. Our system of municipal government is the same as yours and bears the same fruit with rather less luxuriance. Our system of public education is the same, saving that with us the Roman Catholics in two Provinces have separate schools. Shades there are and shades only of difference in political character. The political

character of Canadians betrays in some degree the distinctive influence of dependence; yours the distinctive influence of the Revolution in which your Republic had its origin. But the social and literary fusion of which I have spoken is promoting complete assimilation of political character also. It can hardly be said that two independent experiments are being carried on, so identical in all important respects are the two sets of institutions and their practical effects.

It is of British Canada that I have been speaking. French Canada stands apart. She is a French nation with a practically theocratic government, the power being in the hands of the priesthood to whom the political leaders generally owe their position. The theocratic character has been intensified by the coming of Ultramontanism, which has supplanted the old Gallican Church and the impersonation of which is the Jesuit. The political relation of French Canada to Great Britain is that of passive loyalty to the British Crown. The loyalty has become of late more than ever passive and is morally superseded by allegiance to the Pope, whose authority in the case of the Jesuits Estates' Act has actually been introduced into French Canadian legislation. The political relation of Quebec to British Canada is that of an ill-assorted and uneasy federation. Canadian federation in fact was rather a divorce than a union; its main object was to put an end to the legislative union between French and British Canada which had been a perpetual quarrel and had brought government to a deadlock. Canadian politicians thought they would drown their trouble by immersion in a union of all the British colonies in North America. The patriotism of the French Canadian centres entirely in French Canada. If he cares for anything beyond it and Rome, it is for his old mother country, France, the connection with which is being renewed, now that the storm of the French Revolution is over. The relation of the French Canadians to the United States at present is that of peaceful invaders on a large scale of your North-Eastern States, where they seem likely to form extensive settlements,



and where they shock your school inspectors by the illiteracy everywhere characteristic of the Church of the Past and alarm your sanitarians by their religious neglect of vaccination. The Church in Quebec, as in Ireland, bids all the people marry early, and the land in both cases being poor, overpopulation is in both cases the result. Quebec would be another Ireland if there were not a ready overflow into the United States. British Canada has not had force to assimilate the French element of Quebec as you have assimilated enough at least for political purposes the French element in Louisiana; and the result is this French nationality which is threatening to break the unity of American civilization. Mr. Samuel Adams should have waited with his revolution till Quebec had not only been wrested from France but made English. However the emigrants are spreading American ideas among their kinsmen at home, to the dismay of the priests, who at first tried repatriation, but that having failed seem now to have made up their minds to go with their flocks, and try to build up a community of French Catholics in the old home of the English Puritan.

It is not only New England that the French Canadian is invading. He is invading British Canada also. From the Province of Quebec he is fast extruding the remnant of British. He is fast gaining ground in Eastern Ontario and bringing his language and his Church organization with him. He has tried to make the North-West his own, though in this he will probably fail. Lord Durham cited the saying that the day might come when the English of Quebec, to remain English, would have to cease to be British. By the rapidity of French encroachment that saying is now being recalled to the minds of the British Canadians and not in Quebec alone.

As to British Canada, the true statement of the case, I repeat, appears to me to be that its people and the people of the United States are one, though there are two governments, and the territory has a Customs line drawn across it.

Will the duality of government, sprung, let us always remember, out of historical accident, last for ever? Will Canada

find it worth her while always to keep up a system, the expense of which far exceeds the mere cost of the Government, since subsidies and appropriations on a large scale are constantly required to hold together provinces which, being neither geographically nor commercially connected with each other, have been federated rather than united; which are so far indeed from having been united that an inhabitant of Nova Scotia or British Columbia does not even call himself a Canadian. This is what I do not undertake this evening to say. There are influences drawing both ways. There is the identity of the two civilizations. There is the advancing fusion of the two sections of the English-speaking race. There is the geographical configuration, which is such that a political division separating from the continent those four blocks of territory which lie at intervals along its line, were the thing to be done now, would be deemed insane. There is the idea of a confederation covering the whole of this Northern continent, dedicated to industry, shutting out war and opening a new field for human development. This idea can hardly fail to take hold of men's minds when the old feud is once buried, and it is not less practical than grand; for the capacity of the federal system, provided it retains its character, is unlimited, and if four hundred millions of Chinese can live under a centralized government surely a hundred millions or even two hundred millions of our race can live under a government not centralized but locally free and elastic. On the other hand, there is the strong tendency of communities to run on in the groove in which they have once begun to run. There is the natural attachment of the Ottawa Government and all its officials to their own existence. There is a Parliament at Ottawa in which also the love of life is strong. There is the old flag, not the least important item in the account. There are the United Empire Loyalists who cherish the ancient feud not only as a family tradition but as a patent of gentility. There is Orangeism, though Orangeism is likely to become less separatist now that it is itself astride the Line. We must try in these cases to see which are the great and permanent forces, which forces are secondary and transitory. However



numerous and seemingly powerful the secondary and transitory forces may be, however long they may suspend the action of the great forces, in the end the great forces prevail. Italy is unified, Germany is unified, though sagacious statesmen, seeing the repeated failures, thought that the event would never come. One day the stars are propitious, a shock of some kind lifts the nation out of its groove, the man, the Cavour or Bismarck, arises and the will of destiny is done.

Immediately after Canadian Confederation there came, chiefly among our young men, a pulse of patriotic feeling and of national aspiration, which gave birth to a short-lived movement in favour of independence. The old politicians and the Governor-General of that day, used all their influence to stifle this movement and stifled it was. Efforts are now being made, still chiefly among the young men, to revive it. It was from the beginning and is now a generous movement, deserving of all sympathy and respect. But since its first entrance on the stage the difficulty, always great, of making one nation of British and French Canada has grown an apparent impossibility, while the extension of the Dominion westward to a territory severed from us by Lake Superior and four hundred miles of wilderness has destroyed the last vestige of geographical unity in the territorial seat of the projected nation. It seems almost certain that before these obstacles the movement in favour of independence will succumb.

Were political union between the United States and Canada now proposed the negotiation would have its difficulties. The Union of Scotland with England was as clearly as possible designed by nature. Somers, Godolphin, and their colleagues were great statesmen and had been trained in diplomacy on the grandest scale; what is more, they had real power in their hands: yet their skill was tasked to the utmost. As soon as you touch the point all the opposing forces are called into active life. It was so in the case of England and Scotland. In the Scotch Parliament Lord Belhaven asked the leave of the House, in the midst of his great speech against the

Union, to pause for a few moments that he might shed a tear over the approaching ruin of his country—a ruin which came in the shape of an unparalleled burst of prosperity. Statesmen of the highest class are needed, and this great game of party is apt to produce skilful players at that game, rather than statesmen. It is apt to produce men adept in the art of collecting votes, but without a broad policy, without grandeur or steadiness of aim, always on the stump, unable even to keep their own council, and always unbosoming themselves on platforms. The vision of these men is too often narrowed to the table on which their game is played. Whatever they see they see only in its bearing on elections. A United States Senator once told me that he was against the admission of Canada into the Union because he thought she would vote Democratic. How long it took you to get Dakota admitted as a State! Party would prevail, as it always does, over national interests. Whichever party had the negotiation in hand the other party would try to make it miscarry, and the party press, from the interference of which the negotiations of the union between England and Scotland were comparatively free, would do all the mischief in its power. Local interests too might revolt against national interests and prevail as they already have in connection with this very matter. Difficulties of this kind have perhaps hardly been enough taken into account.

What is the feeling of the Canadian people? It is impossible to answer that question with confidence because there is no test. Nothing could test the feeling but a thoroughly secret ballot. The real sentiment of the people is greatly hidden beneath the conventional sentiment which the official class labours with every engine of moral coercion to maintain. The assiduity with which those engines are plied, however, in itself betrays misgiving on the part of those who ply them. While we are all in the dark everybody says that which he wishes to be true. One day a leading journal asserts that there are not seven Annexationists in Canada; the next day a correspondent replies that there are seven times seven in the

circle of his own acquaintance. If the daily utterances of the Tory organ at Toronto were to be believed, its opponents, that is a full half of the people of Canada, must be Annexationists openly or in disguise. Sentiment differs with localities and class. Official Ottawa is staunchly separatist of course. A friend of mine was betraying Unionist sentiments in company there when an official told him that were it not for the restraint of social confidence he would denounce him. Come into the street, replied my friend, collect the biggest crowd you can, and I will soon relieve you of the restraint of social confidence. It has been said that you could not speak of political union before a meeting of Canadians without being stoned. I feel sure that this is not true. You have your Tail-Twisters and we have our Jingoës and Paper Tigers. But a meeting of ordinary Canadians would hear you discuss in proper terms the possible reunion of the English-speaking race on this continent without showing any inclination to take up stones. How should it be otherwise, seeing that half those men have sons or brothers in the United States? A man could not run for Parliament as a political unionist because political unionism is not a plank in the platform of either party. But if he got a nomination on the party platform I do not believe that in an ordinary constituency his political unionism would do him harm. A political unionist of the most pronounced type was the other day elected mayor of his city by acclamation. The Provincial Prime Minister of Quebec, says that there are political unionists in his parts, and though he has been abused for saying this he has not been contradicted. My impression is that all along the Line, in the North-West and in the Maritime Provinces, the people generally are inclined to closer relations with their own continent. I use a vague expression which best accords with the vagueness of the sentiment. The ill-feeling which was stirred up by the Trent affair and the Fenian raids has died out, though the threat of retaliation the other day produced another slight access of resentment. On the other hand, there is no anti-British feeling whatever except among

a certain portion of the Irish, but, on the contrary, strong attachment to the Old Country. You talk about the plum ripening. Remember that plums to ripen them, though they do not need fingering, need sun, and that Anglophobia is not sunshine to Canadians, still less to England, whose consent is indispensable to any change. British Canadians, settled in the United States, you will find are generally opposed to the annexation of Canada. The reason of this is that their British and Anti-American feeling is being always kept alive by the insults which your Press daily flings on everything British. You estrange the hearts and chill the allegiance of perhaps the very best part of your new citizens, and at the same time you drive and have always been driving the Anglo-Saxon, in whom self-government resides, to Australian shores instead of allowing him to come and reinforce the self-governing element here. Surely if half of what your papers say about British character and history is true, Americans must have some very bad blood in their veins. Inured to these manifestations, as I am, and well as I know their source and meaning, I cannot help myself being galled by them, and I sometimes turn for relief to the German Press of the United States in which no Anglophobia is to be found.

The feeling of Quebec it is specially difficult to divine at a moment when, owing to the development of a strong French nationalism there everything is in a state of fermentation and transition. I have mentioned what is said by the Prime Minister of the Province. The natural tendency of a priesthood is to cling to seclusion and twilight. Quebec is the only part of this Northern Continent in which tithe is collected by law. It is the only part in which miracles are performed, though perhaps it is the part in which they are least needed.

Well, some people say, let the question as to the two Federal Governments be settled now or hereafter as it may: there can be no doubt that the Customs Line drawn across the continent is a commercial nuisance and ought if possible



to be removed.\* A glance at the economical map is enough to show that the continent is destined by nature to be treated as an economical whole. In the mines, the forests, the sea and lakes of the North are vast natural stores of which the South wants to avail itself and to which its capital is the key, while the North wants in exchange the manufactures of the wealthier and more scientific South. To build a tariff wall between North and South is, as clearly as anything can be, to fight against nature and reject the benefits which she proffers with open hand. That the natural trade of Canada is not with her own continent but with Great Britain is a political figment belied by facts. Wherever an opening has been made by the remission of duty in the tariff wall, trade has rushed through; it climbs over the wall even where there is no such opening; climbs over it furtively by smuggling as well as openly by the payment of customs; so that Canada's trade with the United States already nearly equals her trade with England though the ports of England are free. Canada as a country with a limited range of production suffers more from the separation than the United States with their much larger range. But when a witness before your Senate Committee says that you would be giving away a market of sixty millions for a market of five millions we must ask whether he really thinks that a market is given away by enlarging it. Would the market of the United States be better without the five millions of the State of New York? Canada suffers greatly by being out of the commercial pale of her continent, but the continent also suffers by the exclusion of Canada from its commercial pale. A Zollverein would of course involve an assimilation of the seaboard tariffs, because otherwise there would be smuggling through one country into the other.

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\*It should be mentioned, with reference to what follows that the Address was delivered before the lecturer had received the news of the adoption in the Canadian House of Commons of Mr. Mulock's "loyalty" Resolution. This anti-Continental demonstration, in which it was quite natural that Sir John Macdonald should concur, has materially changed the scene.

That ought not to be impossible, since the principle of the tariffs and the articles dealt with are much the same. When the object to be gained is great, difficulties of detail subside, and those Custom houses once down would never be built up again. Canada as the smaller interest of the two and at the same time the greater gainer might well afford to yield a point. The principle of Protection need not be surrendered; at least if Protection is to be kept within the bonds of sanity; for there are people whose theories imply that if a tariff wall were built round each state of the Union every State would be the richer for its seclusion.

What the effect of Commercial Union on political relations would be must be matter of conjecture. If the United States were ever to embrace Free Trade it is not unlikely that Canada would slide into the Union because it would become impossible to maintain the existing fiscal system in Canada or the political system which is bound up with it. But Free Trade, your politicians say, is a long way off. Commercial Union need produce no more effect on political relations than the railway union and the partial monetary union which have already taken place. All would depend on the direction in which the great forces were tending. The Zollverein would not have united Germany politically if the other grounds of union had not already been there.

Assimilation of tariffs would involve, it is said, discrimination by Canada against the Imperial country, and Canadian manufacturers who seek by Protective duties to exclude British goods altogether hold up their hands in horror at the thought of discriminating against them. Let Great Britain speak for herself when she has the case fairly before her. Her interest in Canada as an investor fully countervails her interest as an importer. Canada already discriminates, though not against special British articles, against the bulk of British trade, and Great Britain knows that the commercial unity of the Empire is at an end. Let Great Britain, I repeat, with



the case fairly before her, speak for herself. Her policy, say what you will, is that of moderation. Her one real interest on this continent is the friendship of its whole English-speaking race.

Leaving then politics and politicians to take their course, leaving questions of Annexation or Imperial Federation or Canadian Independence to be gradually settled by the progress of opinion, why should we not enter at once into the enjoyment of a great commercial benefit and of the social and moral benefits which it brings in its train ?

There are certain interests on both sides of the line which would forbid and are striving to prevent Commercial Union ; but these interests are narrow as well as selfish. Unhappily, under this system of party government a very narrow and very selfish interest being able to turn the balance of party too often has the casting vote.

If Commercial Union embraced the Fisheries and the Coasting Trade there would be an end of these wretched bickerings which otherwise will never have an end. It is not for one unconnected with politics to dictate a policy to statesmen, least of all to the statesmen of another country. But this may be safely said, that of all politics the worst, except perhaps for some mere party purpose, is that of fitful and impotent irritation. Your relations with the people of Canada must be intimate and increasingly intimate as the power of the unifying forces grows. Adopt towards them that policy which you deem best, provided it is deliberate and is steadily pursued ; but do not poison and estrange their hearts.

